1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

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415

This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

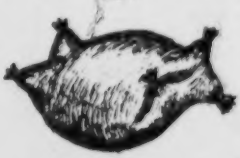

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the foro part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342
343
824

All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/58 cont./

342 Metal is never used as a building material, not even in the form
343 of nails. The same holds true for stones or bricks. However, clayey earth is sometimes used.

To the problems of the dwelling, its outbuildings and shelters for the animals, the Sarakatsani has a single solution, always /59/ the same: the hut. For all the Sarakatsani building derive from the method of erecting a hut.

The dwelling and outbuildings.

342 The Sarakatsani are acquainted with two main categories of dwelling huts:

The round or circular huts surmounted by an almost conical cupola which, from a distance, makes them resemble wicker hives (fig. 45).

Fig. 44

The rectangular or "sloping" huts, (15) the base of which forms a rectangle (figs. 48-49).

15. According to the terminology of the Sarakatsani. They are called sloping in comparison with the circular huts which are also called "upright."

These categories include numerous variations, of which we shall speak after having described the fundamental types. Figure 44 shows these two types of huts.

/68 cont./

342 (824) Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

342 (354)

Fig. 52

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

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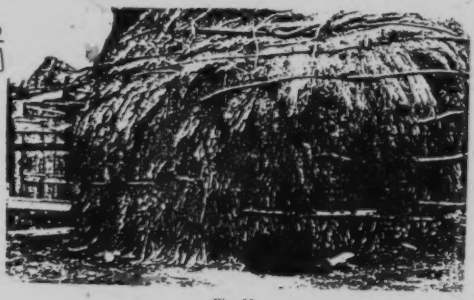

Fig. 53

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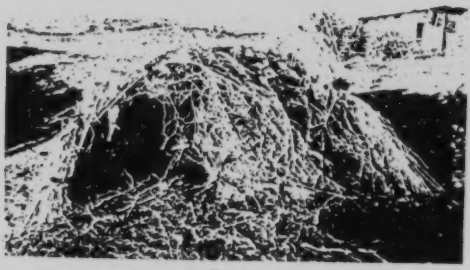

Fig. 54

/70 cont./

342 For the first /variation/ the basic materials consist of:
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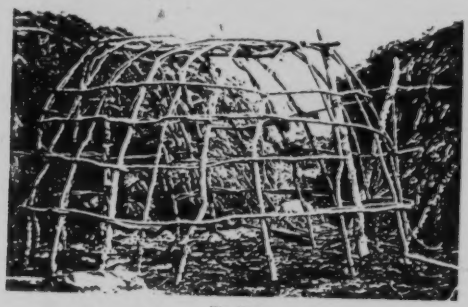

Fig. 55

a) Only two forks set in the middle of the short sides of the rectangle drawn on the ground, that is to say, opposite each other.

b) A trunk resting horizontally on these forks.

These forks are approximately two meters high, whereas the horizontal trunk is from two to three meters long.

Long branches are then driven into the ground on the two large sides of the rectangle at intervals of 30 to 40 centimeters; their height exceeds that of the forks. Their upper ends are tied to the horizontal trunk that constitutes the ridge pole; they thus form true crossed arches (fig. 53 and 55).

/71/ The side walls of these huts are always convex in shape.
342 Of course, the method used in the construction of the frame as well as the covering, scarcely differs from that of the buildings already described.

343 The second /variation/, that is to say the sloping huts built

/71 cont./

343 without forks, are even more simple. In general, their shape is no longer rectangular. Their base is more of an ellipse, the large axis

Fig. 56

of which is of variable length, according to circumstances. On the outline of this ellipse, always drawn on the ground in advance, the Sarakatsani plant long branches spaced 30 to 40 centimeters apart; the free end of each of these branches is lashed to that of the branch opposite it, so as to form a high arch from 1.50 to 1.80 meters. Basically, what is involved is a vaulted framework (fig. 54, 56).

An opening in these huts, which must serve as entrance door, is always provided for at one of the two ends of the big axis.

From the technical point of view there is no difference to be noted in the process of construction.

342 343 With respect to the use to which these two variations of the hut are put, it is necessary to say, in anticipation of our analyses concerning utilization, that those which are based on forks are always intended for living quarters.

The others serve:

--as sheds or storerooms,

--to shelter looms,

/72/--as stable for the chief's horse,

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated," Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order, seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a [341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

[177] The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[341] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/72 cont./
343 417 as outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling, there are still others, such as:

a) The frétzato.
b) The oven.
c) The chicken coop.

/73/ / Figs. 57 and 58 appear here/

417 /74/ a) The frétzato looks like an enclosure; it is built with slanting posts intertwined with long horizontal stalks. Its walls are overlaid with branches and dry shrubs, likewise intertwined.

There are two types of this construction among the Sarakatsani:

[343] [354]

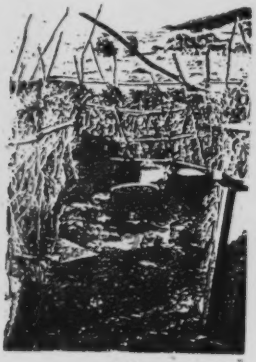

Fig. 59

The first which may be characterized as a frétzato leaning against the hut forms part of the hut (whether round or slanting), for it flanks the front. It consists of a sort of dry hedge in the shape of an ellipse broken on two sides in the middle section.

A. [Sc. p. 85--Analyst]

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Fig. 57

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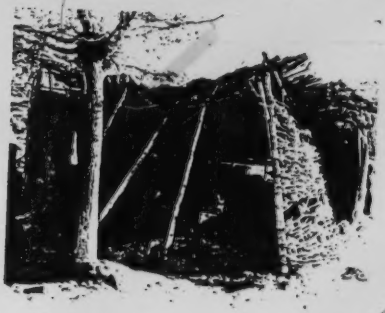

Fig. 58

/74 cont./

342 417 At one of these openings it leans against the front of the hut, specifically on either side of the door; the other /opening/, left free, serves as entrance (fig. 57).

417 In short, it is an elliptical, fenced-in courtyard, the opening of which, situated opposite the entrance of the hut, it closed by a gate made either of boards of interlaced branches.

/75/ The dimensions of this construction are 2.50 to 5.50 meters for the large axis and two to four meters for the small one.

(343) The "fretzato" may enclose one, two, and sometimes three round or rectangular huts placed side by side (in this case, of course, its dimensions are considerably larger); then it serves sometimes as an outdoor kitchen, sometimes as a receiving area. For the latter purpose it includes the tsardhaki (see below).

343 417 The second type of this construction is the "independent fretzato," that is to say, one that does not lean against the hut. This type occurs on the one hand in a circular form called photoghoni, and, on the other, a rectangular form given the name tsardhaki or "shade" (fig. 58 and 59).

In the first form it is a kind of dry hedge, almost round in shape, approximately three to four meters in diameter, that is provided with a single opening without a gate and serves as outdoor kitchen as well as a place for storing utensils; in the second form it is a shelter against sun and heat, placed near the hut. It must therefore necessarily face the north in order to have the benefit on the cool winds (etesian winds).

This latter construction, is more interesting than the preceding one; its dimensions are approximately two meters by five meters, and the sloping roof reaches a height of 2.50 to three meters.

In order to give an idea of the "tsardhaki," let us say that it is a rectangular half-hut on several forks, for its roof has but a single side. Actually, forks 2.50 meters high are set at the two

/75 cont./

343 417 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the frétzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 252 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

Fig. 60

/76 cont./

343 252 The oven, always in the open air, rests on a framework of long, defoliated branches. These branches are set in the earth in a circle approximately one meter in diameter at 20 to 30 centimeter intervals, and their free ends are fastened together so as to form a cone.

On the periphery of the cone and at a specific point the branches are spaced to provide for the opening of the oven.

343 333 252 The inside of the cone is filled with small stones arranged horizontally up to a height of 50 centimeters; then the surface is covered over with flagstones properly aligned and cemented with clay.

Then, the entire exterior of the cone is covered with a very thick layer of boughs which is covered with a coating of potter's clay. The opening of the oven remains uncovered, but during the building /77/ of the walls it is covered with a plank or a large stone which is removed when the outside of the oven is completed.

Only the interior now needs to be finished. As in the case of the exterior surface, the interior of the oven is coated with a layer of potter's clay.

The ventilation of the oven is provided by a hole near the top in the part across from the opening; it is called "the ear."

To complete the construction the oven is heated for several hours; the next day the procedure is repeated. Thus, the clay of the walls dries and becomes as hard as brick. The oven is then ready to be used.

However, this technique of oven building is not the only one found among the Sarakatsani. Here is another:

One starts by building the lower part in the shape of a cylinder 50 centimeters high by one meter in diameter, entirely by means of stone slabs and clay.

The upper surface of the cylinder, well leveled off, is paved with small, fixed flagstones. On these flagstones stones are piled up without being attached and arranged in such a way that the heap takes on a cylindro-conical shape. It is then overlaid with a thick layer of

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178] [361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/78 cont./

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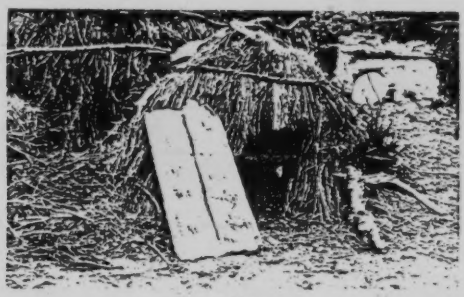

Fig. 61

342 Interior arrangement of the dwelling and its outbuildings

In general, the interior of the large huts intended for dwellings (both round and rectangular) is arranged in the following manner:

On the earth of the hut, carefully leveled out beforehand, one applies a bed of mud mixed with straw or dung, which will form a solid crust. This work is done entirely by hand. All around the hut and along the walls one builds, with a mixture of earth and pebbles, a low wall 30 centimeters high and about 40 to 60 centimeters thick, which one then coats with the mixture of mud and straw of which we have already spoken (fig. 62).

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] [352] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 417 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[See p. 84--Analyst]

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/85/

417
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Fig. 70

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343 /86 cont./ Furthermore, close to the entrances of this pen a tiny round hut is built. Called tsarkos (fig. 71), /Fig. 71 appears here/ it is the simplest of all those we have described, and here the young goats are shut in during the day in order to regulate their suckling.

The tsardhaki: finally, in order to complete the enumeration of the

/86 cont./

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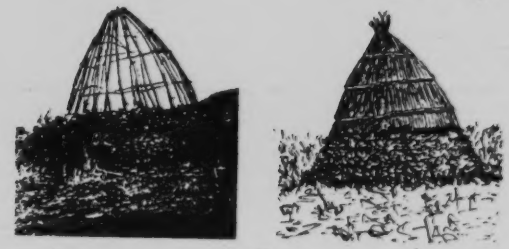

Fig. 71

shelters for the animals, let us mention the tsardhaki where the animals rest during the hot hours of summer days; this, of course, has a different shape from that set apart as a resting place for humans (fig. 72).

It is a kind of "kiosk" open on all sides and built from a certain number of forks of varying height, arranged in a circle, on which are laid horizontially /87/ long defoliated stems surmounted by foliage and boughs forming a roof. It is in this "kiosk" that the flocks seek refuge from the sun.

Fig. 72

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).[A]

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have 231 large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their 235 number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. [492] The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

[A] Fig. 75 appears on p 109--Analyst]

/94 cont./

221 233 361 484 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

[434] Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is derived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 234 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] [415] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 234 221 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 234 221 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 439 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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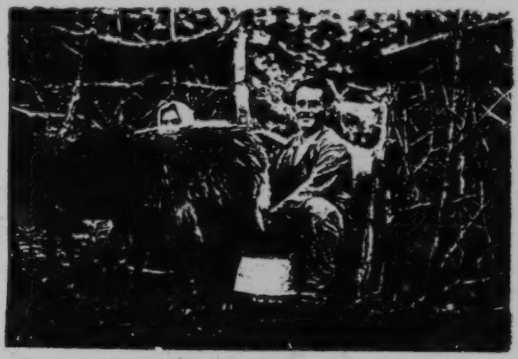

Fig. 78

262 [439] or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb. This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 [262] Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.

[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) /98/ The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "frétzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (504) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(504) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to